

# THE REAL SQUAMISH FIVE



**BRENT TAYLOR**

received a 22 year sentence for conspiring to rob a Brink's guard, break and enter, theft of guns, possession of stolen property, theft of 3 autos, possession of explosives and weapons, and the Litton bombing. He is serving his sentence in Collins Bay penitentiary.



**GERRY HANNAH**  
was sentenced to 10 years for the Brink's conspiracy, attempted arson, auto theft, and possession of stolen goods. He has been released on Parole after 4 years imprisonment.



**DOUG STEWART**

received a six year sentence after pleading guilty to the bombing of a B.C. Hydro substation. He has been released on Parole after 4 years imprisonment.



**ANN HANSEN**

was given a total of 41 years, which was transformed into a "life" sentence. She was convicted of the Brink's conspiracy, the Litton bombing, the Red Hot video firebombing, the B.C. Hydro bombing, possession of explosives and weapons, auto theft and possession of stolen goods. She is presently imprisoned at Kingston Prison for Women.



**JULIE BELMAS**

was sentenced to a total of 20 years after pleading guilty to conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck (ten years) and the Litton bombing (10 years). Sentences for possession of weapons and explosives, attempted arson (Red Hot Video), auto theft and possession of stolen property will be served concurrently. During an appeal she denounced her actions, claimed that the others had pressured her into it and ruined Brent and Ann's appeals. The movie shares this theme because Julie was the only one of the five to talk to the director. The others refused. Julie's sentence was reduced to 15 years on appeal and she was released on parole in spring 1987. She was re-arrested for shoplifting while suffering from Bulimia in August 1987 and is still inside.

WRITINGS OF THE VANCOUVER FIVE  
STATEMENTS OF RESISTANCE

# THE SQUAMISH FIVE

Litton Systems  
(Canada) Ltd.,  
Reedvale Ont.,  
Oct. 14, 1982



The movie "The Squamish Five" portrays five people in a way which takes the reality of their struggle for freedom and justice and turns it into a thinly disguised adventure story to be consumed without question. It is an attempt to trivialize and misrepresent the lives of five real people, people who felt strongly enough about the injustice of our present society to risk action. It creates cardboard cut-out characters who play out the roles of "psychotic revolutionary", "brooding purist", "dumb punk", "cold-hearted politico" and their "naive idealistic victim" without ever examining the politics of their actions, or even the very human reasons why people, when faced with the threat of nuclear extinction, environmental collapse, or violent pornography would choose to attack the structures responsible for manufacturing these threats. The actions which they carried out are presented as the result of frustration on their part, which effectively takes the focus off of the crimes of the corporations attacked and condescendingly puts the blame on these five people for being naive idealists who "took the wrong path."

Acts of resistance such as the Litton bombing involve a question of responsibilities and consequences. These actions are initiated as part of a process of effecting changes when other methods have been tried and either failed or resulted in token accomplishments. They are a conscious, thought out political action and are not done as a result of frustration. The people who risk their lives to do such actions — and in the case of an accident the lives of others — are not "extremists" or "terrorists". They are individuals whose decision to act for the quality and continued existence of life/earth far outweigh the imposition of man-made laws.

Let the film stop at a critical point: before the trials, before the "trial by media" (in which the five were "convicted" by the press without evidence or rebuttal), before the obscene

prison terms imposed on them, before the repression which descended upon all political activists in Canada, and before the betrayal of the rest by Julie; all of which would politicize the movie and betray the premise of both the "innocent victim" and the "rebels without brains". The events following their arrest, their treatment by the so-called justice system and the lengthy prison terms are evidence that their actions were taken very seriously by the Canadian state; and that this system has no intention of budging insofar as their vital interests (ie profit) are concerned. And if the system is unwilling or unable to make the fundamental and far-reaching changes needed to end the present devastation of our earth and people, what option is there for those who care enough to attempt change? By leaving out evidence of the unchangeable nature of the system, the movie isolates the direct actions carried out and makes them seem futile, naive and unnecessary. The context in which they were carried out, the impasse hit by the massive legal movements against these threats and the five's history of legal activism are all missing.

Imprisonment does not have to be the consequence of taking direct action, although it is a very real possibility. People should learn from the actions of others — both the mistakes and the steps forward.

Some of us were able to see an advance copy of the film, we were so upset with the way that the events were portrayed that we felt something must be done. With this in mind we are reprinting the sentencing statements and writings of the five to allow those who took direct action to speak for themselves.

# WRITINGS OF THE VANCOUVER FIVE



## FEMINIST RESISTANCE VS. REFORM

Ann Hansen

The majority of the white womyn's movement have fallen on the cry for equal pay for work of equal value, more government daycare centres, tougher anti-porn and anti-rape laws, more government funding for women's groups, and affirmative action programs in business. These demands are called reforms, because in themselves, they do not presuppose that the entire patriarchy must be destroyed for the intent of these reforms to be realized. They are made known to the male rulers through government sanctioned legal channels i.e. petitions, lobbying mp's, mlis, and supporting government parties.

Some womyn believe reforms can liberate them, without the destruction of capitalism.

For them there is a great hope of reforming the patriarchy, particularly in North America. If the womyn are white and willing to take on the male persona. Some radical feminists see reforms as short term gains that will become the groundwork for a revolutionary movement to destroy the patriarchy. Too often they work towards immediate reforms obscuring their revolutionary aims and determines the methods usually involve dialogue with government representatives, letter campaigns and petitions. If everything an individual womyn does in a day is geared towards reforming the law, then her secret revolutionary aspirations will remain just that.

All that most reforms accomplish whether they are called for within a radical or capitalist context, is the accommodation of a few more white womyn that are capable and willing to assimilate into the male dominated institutions. This means accepting the values and principles of the corporate world. If a womyn seeks power and money in life and is aggressive, ambitious and competitive, then yes, there could be a place for her in the corporate world. She can obtain 'freedom and equality' with her male peers even though in reality these qualities are viewed as greed and power from the perspective of the poor.

There is enough profit margin in Europe and North America to accommodate white middle class womyn in order to diffuse a potentially threatening feminist movement. There is hope for these middle class womyn to attain equal pay for work of equal value, more government subsidized daycare centres, abortion on demand, tougher anti-porn and rape laws and affirmative action programs which could place token womyn in every professional field.

There will never be a large enough profit margin in the western world to alleviate the poverty of coloured, Indian, and Third World womyn — because the definition, essence, very fibre of the patriarchy and capitalism is rooted in making wealth for the few by exploiting the many, and in objectifying womyn and nature to transform them into products sold for a profit. This system of exploitation is maintained and protected by parliament, the legal system, and the police force. It is a contradiction in terms to believe these institutions would contain legitimate channels for the destruction of a system they are designed to protect.

If womyn do not develop revolutionary methods and goals, the very foundation of the patriarchy will remain untouched, leaving governments, institutions and businesses that embody the male value system unscathed. There will still be smoggy sunsets, oil spills, people starving, and computers taking over the mind. the patriarchy will be left intact, with a few token females in the power structure.



Reforms also tend to strengthen the existing system by appearing to resolve contradictions within its ideology of freedom, liberty and democracy, and its reality of social, political and economic exploitation. Although they can be resolved only through revolution, reforms can diffuse these contradictions for the middle classes. Reforms help give the patriarchy a kinder face. Affirmative action programs place token womyn in traditional male professions; more daycare centres allow more womyn to join the work force and tougher anti-porn and anti-rape laws create the illusion that womyn are protected from the most violent aspects of sexism. These reforms will have given some privileged women more power and freedom within the male world, but the patriarchal structure and values that are rooted in materialism and greed will remain untouched. There will still be millions of sterilized Indians and third world womyn, most womyn will still be treated primarily as sex objects, will be impoverished or starving, and the human society will continue to embody only the worst life-destroying features of the male psyche.

Yet these reforms create a false appearance of equality which can be used as a weapon against the poor womyn who only experience poverty, violence and degradation. The middle class womyn, beneficiaries of reform, can turn against the poor, claiming that the middle class have jobs, daycare centres and abortions and therefore the problem of the poor lies in their own laziness and incompetence.

Even the benefits of reform to the middle class womyn are an illusion because equality within this patriarchy is, in reality, the transformation of womyn into female replicas of men who have learned to enjoy the evils of greed and power. To work at jobs within the patriarchy, we have to give up our children to institutional daycare centres and take on the values of the male dominated workplace.

We must refuse to be accomplices in the perpetuation of our own oppression by smoothing over the conflicts of the patriarchy. Instead these conflicts and contradictions should be exposed and attacked with a strategic eye towards total liberation.

The contradictions between capitalist/patriarchal ideology and the daily reality of exploitation and the destruction of life cannot be resolved without a total transformation because these realities are integral to the system. To understand the nature of the beast, this international system that we are enslaved by, we must throw off the rose-tinted glasses and throw away the middle class fairy tales that taught us that our society is a nice place and everything always turns out well. In reality, capitalism and patriarchy are rooted in exploitation and objectification of life. Capitalism is an economic system based on profit-making for the rich and patriarchy is a system in which the values of men, that is, competition, power and aggression, dominate and negate all other values.

Liberation can only be attained through the destruction of the patriarchy — our methods must be those of a liberation struggle. Few feminists would argue against the view that the government is a powerful bastion of the patriarchy; that is, government leaders are responsible for creating laws and institutions that maintain male dominance. Yet many of these womyn still believe that, by asking these same powerful male leaders of government to help them, womyn can attain

liberation. Womyn cannot expect to achieve liberation through the patriarchal governments' methods of social change. The most that can be expected of these methods is that government and business accommodate a few feminists by changing some laws and redistributing some wealth.

Developing methods of struggle rooted in resistance does not mean we must reject all short-term goals. Liberation is a long term process built upon gains made little by little; when we fight for abortion on demand, or against pornography, we must do so within a revolutionary context. This means describing the problem from a radical perspective and using tactics that reflect our rejection of the male controlled legal, political and economic system. For example, rather than demanding equal pay for work of equal value — a demand which reflects an acceptance of the existing patriarchal economic system — womyn should develop new means of survival that are non-exploitative and harmonious with the earth, such as expropriations, co-ops and collectives.

A liberated womyn in this society is a womyn in total resistance, constantly pushing against the limits and obstacles restriction her. Liberated womyn must make a total break with the patriarchy: establish their own communities, culture and political action groups. Instead of putting their energy into calling the male protectors, the government, to help them, liberated womyn develop tactics of resistance that cannot be controlled by the government, such as occupations, blockades, information distribution, people's inquiries, posterizing, spray painting, expropriation, survival gatherings and other direct actions. If unified into a movement, the tactics of resistance are effective because they allow us to directly confront the government and corporations. If our work is based on the understanding that the patriarchy must be destroyed, then we can't be conned into believing that a change of law here, and government commission there, will improve the situation for womyn. It will be focused on relentlessly exposing and attacking the protection and cover-ups that the government affords the male rulers and rapists of the people and land.

Once dedicated to a resistance struggle, womyn will begin to take the initiative of social change out of the hands of the patriarchy. In our present situation, the government and multinationals make the decisions that determine the course of events. For example, the federal government continues to sanction mega-projects that pollute the land and

If the initiative of change is to lie in the hands of feminists and radicals, then we must analyse and understand how the Canadian state and multinationals operate. We have to understand the role Canada plays in the imperialist network, the strategic interests of the economy that keep Canada strategically stable and the political weaknesses that we can expose. Once we have this understanding, then we can develop strategies of action that have continuity and that are not rooted in reaction to the most singularly obvious symptoms of the system. This way we can, over the long-term, undermine the very structure of the system.

Armed with a militant feminist analysis and tactics of resistance, womyn can develop an ongoing offensive against the bastions of the patriarchy — the corporate megaprojects, military and government institutions. As long as these institutions continue to control human society, pornography, rape and the objectification of womyn will continue.

If we look around us, and are shaken to the core by a dread of the deathly future this society presents us, then we must turn to the spirit, emotion and sensuousness in ourselves that allows us to connect with all life. Through a rejoining with the spirit of revolt. Revolt of the raped forests, polluted rivers, the death culture of this society, the massacre of third world people and genocide of the Indian people. A deep feeling of revolt at death and a corresponding love of life will give us the power to resist and make the sacrifices that are essential to save the earth. Surely there is no greater task than to prevent the destruction of the earth and the misery and meaninglessness of modern-day human life.



### The Wild Seed

Like the wild seed, beneath winter's snow,  
We must be.  
Seemingly lifeless, held frozen in the dark,  
Yet we are not dead.  
The cycle is not complete.  
Life, hidden deep within, is only waiting,  
For the sun to shine, for the snow to melt,  
For the warm spring wind to blow.  
Then we'll rise above the ground,  
Flowering for all to see.  
And what purpose will we serve?  
To grow more seeds,  
Who in turn will also know the changing seasons,  
And will fear them not.

-Gerry Hansen

# LIVING IN REALITY

Doug Stewart  
Ockelk Prison  
1983

In the last few years, tens of thousands of people have died in El Salvador — mostly guerrillas killed by the army and peasants killed by the death squads. What does that mean? Not much, I think, to most of us. We have an intellectual understanding of events in that sorrowful country, but I don't think we really feel the reality of the suffering and struggle taking place there. For most political people there is an unconscious emotional distancing, an alienation and separation that prevents us from empathizing, from feeling the longgelines of what is happening. We read a magazine article and are properly outraged, but in a few days we forget. I think we should try to overcome this; we should make an effort to internalize the reality of fascism and guerilla war in El Salvador. Now, right now, there is someone just like us, with hopes and dreams and fears, being tortured or murdered or raped by Salvadorean soldiers. And right now, there is someone just like us sitting in the jungle with a rifle, watchful and waiting. We are political people. These people are our sisters and brothers and their lives are real. We should grant them reality in our minds.

"The eyes are blind, one must look with the heart." There is a lot of injustice in the world, a lot of oppression and suffering, and I think for most of us our understanding of this reality is very intellectual and abstract. We do not really identify with the existence of the pain and the resistance of

us not only from the natural world but also from ourselves, from those around us, and from events in the world in general.

One final source of our inability to empathize with the world around us is the sheer horror of it. Those who open themselves to reality, who seek to identify themselves with suffering people, will be overwhelmed by cruelty and pain, and deeply hurt. In self-defense we withdraw.

I have tried to give some explanation for what I see as limitations in our understanding. I think that we, as political people, should seek a profound understanding of the world, going beyond remembrance of facts to knowing of reality, to a heartfelt identification with suffering people and struggling resistance fighters. The burden of this consciousness is great, but the benefits are greater still. If we are dedicated and honest and curious of this understanding, I think that we can achieve it. Further, I think that it can have significant consequences for our lives.

For one, our understanding of the world will become truer and richer, and we will have a stronger sense of being rooted in the material world, of actually living in reality. As well, I think that people of a different life experience will seem more concrete, more on the same level of actuality of ourselves.

More specifically, the horror of the world will become clearer; we will start to feel the character and scale of suffering and injustice in the world. We can never completely succeed, but if we try we can come to a closer identification with what it means to be an oppressed person, to be a Central American peasant or an American Indian or a Canadian

**DIRECT ACTION  
SPEAKS LOUDER THAN WORDS!**

the people we sympathize with. For example, even to progressive men, I think that what it feels like to be a woman in a patriarchal society is largely unintelligible. We can intellectually understand the omnipotent potential for violence, the belittling, the cruelty, and scorn, but we do not really empathize and identify with the frustration, wear, and fear that our culture imposes on women. The genocide of American Indians is another atrocity we abstractly understand, but one which I think very few white Canadians really grasp the reality of.

A different kind of non-understanding is of the rape of the earth. Most leftists view ecological destruction as unnecessary or inefficient or offensive to human aesthetic values, but we do not really identify with the toxics and flowers, with the whole indescribably complex, interconnected, and beautiful life of the land; nor do we truly feel the horror and injustice of the slaughter being perpetrated against the earth.

These are all examples of our alienation from reality of the limits on our understanding of the world, of our inability to feel on an emotional level what we think on a rational level. This inability is characteristic of our culture and springs from many sources.

One source is simple and obvious: the life experience of most oppressed people is totally foreign to our own; if I am not a woman or an Indian or a tree, it will be difficult for me to deeply appreciate what they undergo. And if our lives are relatively sheltered and comfortable, it will be difficult for us to appreciate suffering of any kind, to really understand sudden violence, slow starvation, crippling disease, rape, torture, and unreasoning murder.

More generally speaking, I think there are two major elements of our society that alienate us from reality: the patriarchy and technology. Perhaps the most fundamental root of our behaviour and thought is our sexist conditioning, and for those of us who are men this implies a deep-seated separation from women, illusions of superiority, and emotional isolation. This mental and emotional straight-jacket pervades our lives, acting as a major barrier to our empathizing and identifying with anyone oppressed in any way.

Our technological culture also constrains our understanding. Our environment — the cars, cities, houses, jobs, and especially the TVs — is very artificial, complicated and unintuitive and, over time, conditions us to accept the violent and the bizarre as routine and unexciting. I don't understand this point entirely clearly, but I feel strongly that on a subconscious level the machine environment alienates

housewife or even a logged valley.

This consciousness will outrage us, not in a way that will fade in a few days, but in a way that will sink deep into our being, that will fuel our anger and our determination to be politically effective. We will be driven from political consciousness into political activism.

This consciousness will also serve to keep our personal position in perspective. We forget sometimes that most of us lead very privileged lives, especially those of us who are white men. If we maintain a tight emotional connection with the less fortunate, then we will be less constrained by fear of endangering the security of our lives and lifestyles, and more willing to risk what we have for the sake of those who have very little.

As we develop an identity with suffering people we will also come into an identity with people in resistance. El Salvadorean guerrillas, rape relief workers and AIM militants are all our sisters and brothers; if we can learn to empathize with the reality of their lives and work, and to carry that consciousness with us, we will have a powerful source of strength and hope to draw on. Beyond ideology and beyond motivation, we need faith, the inner strength that enables us to push on in the face of apparently overwhelming opposition.

In the time of depression and crisis we can be sustained by our connection with our friends and comrades around the world.

If we can make an effort we can see past the maps and numbers and into people's hearts and lives, and I think that this can have a great impact on our lives. I hope that we come to see the political work we do, not just as an obligation, or what we think we should do, but also as what we want to do, flowing from our connection with people and our desire to struggle alongside them. And mostly what I hope is this: that we look at our lives, at what we do and why, and at what we could do, and that we always live in the real world, seeing clearly and feeling deeply.

In what I say here I am speaking primarily to serious political people and to my own community, feminist anti-authoritarians, and environmentalists. I am speaking as an equal to people I respect and can in solidarity with. I don't propose the consciousness of *Living in Reality* as something that no one has, or as a magical solution to any of our problems, but as a contribution to our ongoing dialogue about the world and our lives in it. I hope that people will read this critically and sympathetically, taking what they find of worth and leaving the rest.

...ers in 1340.  
with advancing — well, like the  
across England, attempt to tunnel  
" " way to safety with Young Griff (Hamish  
McFarlane); as their guide. You see, Young Griff  
has had these visions, strange visions of a  
funny looking city, of shining spires and Sony  
Walkmen. Outups — we don't want to give too  
much away.

**The Squirmish Five.** In the early 1980s,  
Canadians were shocked by the bombing of  
three video porn stores in Vancouver and a massive  
explosion at a Toronto factory that manufactured  
components for the U.S. cruise missile. The  
story behind the bombers, known as the Squirmish  
Five, unfolds in a bleak, stripped-down  
script by Ken Gass and documentary-style  
direction by Paul Donovan. Without condoning  
the bombings, Gass and Donovan depict the terrorist's  
sense of frustration with their state, revolutionary mystic  
sent over from the 1960s and their profound and  
sometimes humorous naivete.

SEPT.

**The Ware** • V  
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## No Peace for the Poor

Peace they cried  
From sun-tanned faces  
Patented up on granola bars  
to the white maggot faces  
of the steel mill kids  
hanging out at the corner  
There ain't no peace for the poor

Peace they cried  
Violence begets violence  
But the kids were too busy  
With their snoms getting beat up  
And their daddies drinking and running from the law  
To listen  
Cause their ain't no peace for the poor

Peace they cried  
Marching down the street  
All straight and tall  
Stepping over the drunken Indians sprawled  
Along the hot sidewalks like dying dogs  
There ain't no peace for the poor

Peace they cried  
Walking home  
To their apartments  
Potted plants and prints in the hall  
While all around  
The war goes on  
In silent insidious form  
There ain't no peace for the poor...

— Ann Hause

## Victory Or Death

In El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala they hide out in the mountains,  
Together in small groups among the bushes and trees they move,  
And when they sleep, they sleep on the ground, and when they fight, they fight for freedom,

Imagine what life must be like for them, they who are dedicated totally to the cause,  
Who live by the call of 'victory or death'  
And believe that nothing is more important than the triumph of their revolutions,

At great risk these armies of the people have risen up from their oppression,  
Through the years they have endured by much love and sacrifice,  
Overcoming fear and terrible hardship with intense determination,  
Oward, ever onward, maintaining an undaunted spirit of resistance,  
Quietly celebrating small secret victories and learning the painful lessons from defeat,  
They have now finally united in the struggle for total liberation of their nations,

Companeros, our hideout was warmed by the knowledge of you,  
May your struggle be victorious,  
May your children grow strong and free!

La Lucha Continua!

— Brent Taylor

# PATRIARCHAL CONQUEST & INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

Brent Taylor

The apocalyptic horrors we face today—the looming nightmares of nuclear war or ecological catastrophe—are a direct consequence of the industrial and technological civilization created by materialistic capitalist and communist male power elites over the past 200 years. These threats to our survival are entirely unique to this modern era, and would have been virtually inconceivable to people of former times. However, the true roots of industrial civilization—the consciousness and attitudes which eventually enabled such a civilization to come into being—first began to fester in the societies of our ancestors long ago. Why we have only so recently come to be faced with the nightmarish reality of a crisis of extermination is because the modern era is the first in which the actual potential for extermination exists. It was only through the actualization of an advanced industrial civilization that the machines, weapons and industrial processes were created which are now threatening the survival of life on Earth.

The present industrial and technological civilization is, in its global scale and its actual physical manifestations, vastly different from all other eras of so-called 'civilized history'. From the stupifying rate of expansion of the 'industrial revolution', and with the colossal productive capacity of massive factories, the immense output from power projects, and the utilization of mega-scale resource extraction, etc., etc., ad nauseum, there is little question that the modern era, in a material sense, literally stands beyond history. It has facilitated the most consumptive and materialistic societies ever—which are surely a science fiction fantasy when compared with even the most developed urban centres of the 18th century. Yet it is not because of a new mode of thinking that human existence has been so rapidly transformed.

Industrial civilization has evolved from the cumulative effects of an unbroken adherence to perceptions, concepts and philosophical values which are negative and essentially anti-life. For example, the capacity of human beings to want to wage wars of total annihilation against their enemies, or the quest to manipulate the natural environment to our anthropocentric ends, or to lust after material wealth with insatiable greed—these machinations which are so prevalent among the ruling classes of today—have also dominated the pursuits of previous eras and civilizations. Clearly, far back into history, well before the beginnings of the Judeo-Christian era, the dominant conceptual outlook of civilization can be described as being that of 'patriarchal (male-dominated) conquest'. I believe that within this mode of thought are ways of perceiving and being, sometimes subtle and sometimes brutally apparent, which must be rejected if we are to survive and recreate lives and cultures of natural freedom and harmony.

At some point in our distant past, when early patriarchal societies began to develop and then become established and powerful, a distancing and disregard, and eventually contempt and conquest, over women, other peoples and finally the natural environment came to be the principle underlying premises upon which the ruling males governed. Since those times, the magnitude of patriarchal conquest has steadily expanded, and 'human development' has been synonymous with the ever-increasing institutionalization of patriarchal domination. The tragic effects of this domination is not only evident today in the material conditions of human societies, but as well, in the inner world of human beings.

Over thousands of years, the patriarchal culture of conquest has virtually destroyed our inner grounding with what can be termed 'a natural and holistic appreciation of life.' Such a severe spiritual crippling has left us collectively wounded and astray. This is particularly true in advanced industrial societies where an extremely distorted and lifeless view of living exists. Not only has much of the reverence and worship of life itself vanished, but it appears that these societies have become incapable of recognizing the fact that they are creating an execution chamber world by the very manner in which they are functioning and by the very motives which drive them onward.

Patriarchal conquest has become an all-embracing battle of conquest over all life for the ends of greed and power for rulers and empires—to bury variety, spontaneity and vitality in a coffin of artificiality, domination and control. Male rule, women hating, racism, warfare, imperialism, materialism, anthropocentrism, speciesism, aggression, competition, believing humanity to be separate and superior to the natural world, psychic and emotional encasement, invulnerability, hierarchicalism, objectification, exploitation, tech-no-rationality, lack of intuition or insight and spiritual voidness—these are some negative attributes which are consistent with a patriarchal culture. Taken as a whole, they form the cultural archetype now exhibited in the military industrial imperialism of our present times. Throughout patriarchal history, these attributes have more or less determined how we have lived, and how civilizations have developed. Today, much of humanity, most men, and all imperialist economic, scientific, political and military leaders are imbued with many of these life-smothering characteristics. The brutal landscapes and stagnant cesspools of modern industrial civilization are a real life mirror reflecting the extent to which the human spirit has been extinguished by the culture of patriarchal conquest.

The ceaseless dark ages of history, now epitomized in the 20th century crises of extermination, starkly reveal that the longer human beings have adhered to, or been forced under

domination of, the various strains of patriarchal thinking, the greater the anti-social centrality of such thought has permeated the character of human societies, and therefore, the greater the degree of violence, destruction and misery that all living beings and the environment of the Earth have experienced. On the path of patriarchal conquest things haven't gotten better, they've gotten worse. All the multitudes of negativity found throughout history have compounded, mutated and expanded over time, eventually culminating in the toxic realities of modern times.

With the advent of industrial civilization a qualitatively new era of destructiveness has come into being. Before industrialization, though there was often unthinkable suffering and brutality, actual threats to the survival of all life on Earth did not exist. Therefore, regardless of the many terrors people faced, in their dreams they could visualize an open-ended future full of possibility. Today this is no longer true: we live in dread of the horrors of industrial civilization, and daily we are confronted with the very real possibility of extinction. Industrialization has not only magnified the basic anti-life dynamic of the patriarchal culture of conquest, it is in fact a Frankenstein created by it.

The existence of industrial civilization cannot be divorced from the historical process which eventually enabled it to be created—that process being patriarchal historical development. Industrial civilization stems totally from within the conceptual framework of the patriarchal mindset, and it is from that mentality that the strivings to pursue it dwell. It would never have come into being without human cultures having first been mutated by patriarchal conquest, and our identification with the natural living world severed. If we fail to make this connection, then we fail to understand the real 'nature' of industrial civilization.

Industrial civilization is the definitive product of patriarchal conquest. Industrial development is not wrong simply because it is recklessly utilized towards the ends of power and profit. Its very essence is wrong: all the promises upon which it was founded, and is maintained, are negative and anti-life. It is inherent within the essential 'nature' of industrial civilization for it to be life-threatening. It is entirely consistent, therefore, that its existence has become such a grave threat to the survival of life.

To survive this crisis of extermination, it is simply not enough to isolate nuclear war, large-scale pollution or relentless profiteering as being the offensive realities of industrial civilization, and therefore, as the only parts of it that should be done away with. To do that would mean that we still embrace, on the whole, most of the industrial 'way of life'

created in the image of the patriarchal mentality. It would mean that we still adhere to the culture of patriarchal conquest. It is essential we come to realize that it has been, and will continue to be, our basic adherence to the patriarchal mentality which is the real threat to life, and the fundamental reason why the likelihood for doom is ever consuming us. Inevitably, if we are to survive and create a better world without warfare and the possibilities of extinction, a complete abandonment of the culture of patriarchal conquest must occur. Such an abandonment must certainly include 'industrial civilization' in its entirety.

We must come to recognize the degree to which our understanding and perceptions of life and the external world have been determined by patriarchal conquest, and how we have developed our societies as a result of this. Then we can clearly see how history has been charted, civilizations built, and finally, how industrialization has come to dominate and threaten our existence because of the lifeless images and vision of the patriarchal mentality. We will be far better able to make positive choices about what kind of societies we want to create, and about what we need to do to survive, if we realize the extent to which the 'developments' of history, and the technologies of today, are actually the manifested realities of this entirely morbid process of thought.

For us to really become clear about what we need to do in this struggle for survival, we must rid our inner beings of the negative attributes of patriarchal thinking, but as well, we must rediscover our physical connection and knowledge of natural life processes can we once again come to possess a meaningful understanding of the proper ways to live. Through such an understanding we can gain the direction and strength necessary to wage the struggles that are needed, and the vision to fight against the deadly, artificial existence of industrial civilization, not to reform it, but to do away with it completely.



## Stein River

Welcome the mornings, another awakening  
with bright warm sunrises  
sleeping deep through our skin,  
welcome the mornings, feeling strong and joyful  
with fresh cool water  
to splash on our faces...

Welcome the afternoons, playing together  
our sense revelling  
as our bodies run free  
welcome the afternoon, exploring Earth's body  
we are animals alive with enchantment  
among her abundant life...

Welcome the evenings, a time to appreciate  
the gifts of the fire  
with the beauty of friends,  
welcome the evenings, a time for receiving  
precious nourishment from loving  
and the dream spirits of the night.

—Brent Taylor

## Sister Tree

Oh my friend, sister tree,  
You are always there  
Outside my barren cell  
Radiating the life and richness  
They try to kill in me  
Imprisoned in this tomb of stone.

You are everything this is not  
Green limbs, sinewy strong yet soft  
Soothing, caressing the wind,  
Providing a home at no cost  
To crows and squirrels and wrens and bugs

Hugging the earth and holding the rain  
Giving not taking  
Loving not hating  
You are centuries of wisdom  
Humbly providing  
Shelter from the storm

My mother, my lover, provider, protector  
My spirit flies out to you  
And silently my cries implore  
Please take my body too!

—Ann Hansen

# THE WORK ETHIC AND THE WESTERN DREAM

Gary Honnah

A good many people these days seem to realize that mega projects, large scale logging or mining operations, and continued land developments will inevitably lead to a devastated and inhospitable environment. Yet for some reason, despite this realization most people continue to accept and even endorse these practices, and generally maintain that they are necessary. One might well ask why a species of allegedly intelligent creatures would want to pursue this self-destructive way of thinking. The answer is simple enough: for the sake of jobs.

We are willing to cut down forests and to flood river valleys, displacing hundreds of wild animals (many of which will die later for lack of shelter and grazing grounds) for the sake of jobs. We are willing to transform countless fragile ecological communities into wastelands of concrete, asphalt and mud; for the sake of jobs. We are willing to poison rivers, lakes and the air, with all sorts of pollution; for the sake of jobs. Basically we are willing to totally violate this earth in any way, shape or form, just as long as those psychopaths keep on rolling in.

As a fully industrialized society we believe that in order to survive we must be employed, and as such we have become totally dependent on corporations and other large institutions for our livelihoods. This is an exceedingly vulnerable position to be in because now, out of fear of being unemployed, we are in effect silenced from speaking out against many improper practices carried out by employees through their various enterprises. We see that what we are doing to the earth and to ourselves is wrong, we see that those who are responsible for initiating these actions against the earth are not concerned in the least about the impact they have on it, yet we dare not raise our voices too loudly in protest against them for fear of losing our source of income.

One wonders though just how much we are willing to sacrifice in the name of employment. Where exactly does it end? Are we ready to accept the fact that our children will be left with a devastated and barren world so that we may have jobs today? Jobs that are almost always degrading, monotonous or destructive in some way. Jobs that are unstable at the best of times. Jobs that bring us a mere fraction of the profits that are made as a result of our sweat and toil. Hopefully we are not that shortsighted, foolish, and selfish.

Not only is this position we find ourselves in today vulnerable, it is self perpetuating as well, and tends to continually reinforce our reliance on the initiatives and enterprises of others rather than on our own abilities to survive. As we move farther and farther from a direct dependence on and close relationship with the natural world, and steadily immerse ourselves more and more into a way of life based on the production and consumption of human-made things, our demand for the exploitation of natural "resources" increases dramatically thereby creating further destruction of the environment. This in turn makes an interdependent relationship with the natural world further and further from the realm of possibility. The basic elements for sustaining human life — independent of modern society — will simply not be there, and the knowledge of how to use them will have been forgotten as well. This is a very good situation for those people who stand to make a lot of money from our dependence on their endless stream of consumer goods and products, but a poor and dangerous situation for the rest of us.

In periods of so-called economic crisis, when the rate of unemployment is running high, governments and corporations are able to use jobs to justify a lot of the things that have little to do with the destruction of the environment (directly anyway) but are still equally as negative. For instance a surprising number of people now are asking that prisons be built in their communities, hoping that this will provide them with employment. Rather than attempt to deal with the very basic questions of whether a society as messed up as ours (or any society for that matter even has the right to keep people in cages, they opt instead for the short-term solution to their problems, at the expense of the many victims of our society's totally corrupt values and outright oppression.

Another example of this job fanaticism are the people that practically beg to have nuclear power plant built in their communities at great potential risk to themselves and their region — just for the sake of a handful of jobs. In fact, lately we even hear people defending the nuclear weapons industry because of the large number of people it employs. Apparently not only the destruction of the environment, but contributing to the mass murder of millions of people is okay as well, as long as it provides a source of stable employment.

We seem to have forgotten that human beings were living long before the concept of "earning a living" was ever heard of. The fact that we are here today is proof that they were. Contrary to popular belief, life for them was often not sheer drudgery at all, but a joy in many cases. In many communities of old, work and play were virtually indistinguishable. Particularly in hunter/gatherer societies where our ancestors usually had the foresight to settle in areas where the basic needs for living were easily obtainable, and there was little need for prolonged stretches of dull or arduous labour.

This scenario is of course excluding the imperialistic slave, and feudal societies, which actually bear a much closer resemblance to our own society, where work is served much like a prison sentence, and play is viewed as an earned privilege — allotted to us in a highly institutionalized and regimented form, once we have spent the bulk of our time and energy labouring to fulfill someone else's greedy ambitions.



Many people would argue that a more basic existence such as our ancestors enjoyed without all the mechanical devices and technological processes we have today, would be too physically demanding, and would leave us with much less leisure time on our hands than we have today. However we're now finding that in our day-to-day existence in modern society, we are gradually receiving less and less of an adequate amount of physical exercise which we need in order to stay healthy, and so we now must find other means to keep fit such as jogging, swimming, and cycling to name just a few. So in essence this means that to a large extent rather than making our lives easier, we have merely restructured them, and not only that, but now we are often actually paying for exercise that was at one time merely a part of day-to-day living, not to mention using up a good deal of our newly gained leisure time with boring fitness programs.

Another argument that some people make against a very basic existence, is that it's not really necessary to go that far. They say that all that's necessary to stop the destruction of the environment and to maintain a healthy relationship with nature is for people to control industry rather than corporations and for industry to stop producing massive quantities of useless consumer products and instead produce only items that are practical and truly useful. Some of these items might include components for maintaining mechanized transportation and advanced medical procedures, as well as electronic communication/information equipment and alternative energy-producing devices.

Though no doubt these goods and the services they enhance could be beneficial to us under the right conditions, this argument has one essential flaw to it. It ignores the vast and complex industrial sub-structure that must exist before such goods and services can be created. For example x-ray machines and wind-powered electrical generators, though seemingly more or less ecologically sound in themselves actually require many exotic, highly-processed parts and materials. These parts and materials don't just spring from thin air. They must first be extracted from the earth, transported to where they are to be processed, processed, then transported to where they are to be manufactured, and finally manufactured. This is all before these parts and materials even get to the final assembly plant. Each one of these operations basically constitutes an industry in itself, and each one of them also relies on its own group of specialized mechanical devices, which in turn must be manufactured from their own parts and materials as well, and so on and so on. Even if manufacturing were restricted to a mere fraction of the more sophisticated items we produce today, we can see that we would still actually be depending on quite a substantial amount of industrial activity.

Also even if the most advanced and effective pollution controls and recycling methods (which again rely on their own manufactured parts and materials) were implemented in this production process, there is just no way this amount of industry would not have a serious impact upon the natural world. Furthermore there is no way that a society that willingly embraces this amount of industry, can be truthfully said to be living in harmony with nature.

In the consumer society we live in today, human relations also tend to break down along with relations with nature. We are frequently abused and insulted both in our workplaces and in the marketplace by employers concerned only with our output as employees, who are generally insensitive to our feelings as human beings, and by entrepreneurs who view us only as consumers from which a profit might be made, who have little regard for our real needs as human beings. This humiliation and abuse we experience daily (which comes in many other forms as well) inevitably leads to feelings of helplessness, frustration and inadequacy, which we tend to vent in various negative ways. These often include escape through drugs or alcohol, and violence both domestic or otherwise. We have so little control over our own lives, that we attempt to make up for it by dominating others. We also become bitter and apathetic towards life in general and suspicious and indifferent of other human beings.

At the same time, as all of this is happening we are repeatedly being encouraged through mainstream media and slick corporate advertising, to be highly competitive and totally materialistic, and judge ourselves and one another by what we possess rather than by what we are. By accepting these values and attempting to live up to them, we become little more than machines performing pre-programmed

functions at the expense of our own and others freedom and dignity.

Most of us can sense that there is something very wrong with the way things are today, but we apparently have not yet fully realized the extent of the damage being done. Nor do we yet have a clear idea of what to do about it. Many of us look to political leaders for answers, but they are usually either too busy making business deals with their corporate cohorts, vacationing, or just plain too arrogant to answer, and when they do claim to have some answers, it's always just more of the same. They tell us that these problems are just part of the price of progress, but they never tell us just what exactly it is that we are progressing towards, so how do we know whether the price is worth it or not?

The same is true for business leaders, who surprisingly enough some people still perceive to be nice men who actually care about us. Their answer to just about all the world's problems, is less control over big business and more financial incentives for free enterprise ventures — which is the same as saying the best way to put out a fire is to add more fuel to it.

They will also argue against a return to a simpler more independent lifestyle, by saying that a highly technological society would be much more beneficial and healthy for us to live in. That it is our only real chance for freedom and equality. We should question though how a society that's built on the philosophy of profit at all costs, total conformity, and domination over all living things — including the very earth which gives us life, could possibly be healthy, beneficial and fair. We see the beginnings of it now. Is it fair? Is it healthy? Are there any less problems than before? We only need to take a careful look at ourselves and at life around us for the answer to that question.

For those of us who strive to be truly honest with ourselves, and who share a deep concern for the quality of life on our planet, the reality of the situation should be clear by now. Either we refuse to collaborate in the earth's and in our own destruction any longer, or we commit ourselves and our children to a permanent position of subordination, and a totally artificial way of life from which there is no return. If we choose to refuse, then a radical change in our way of thinking is required. We must stop kidding ourselves that industrialism and the environment can co-exist. They can't. We must stop presuming that we need all of our modern devices and processes to survive and be happy. We don't. And we must stop assuming that the people with the power, be they elected or otherwise, will make the right decisions for us. They won't.

The total change that must happen in order to guarantee that our lives will have real meaning and independence, and that our planet will survive, seems so hopeless in terms of realization. Yet it must happen. Each one of us must attempt to fully understand the plastic society around us and our relationship to it, and to reject it entirely, both in thought and in action. As well, we must in process join together with others who share this knowledge and concern for the future and bravely push forward, in every way that we can, toward a new and better way of life. A way of life based on cooperation, equality, and deep respect for the earth.

The situation is urgent. The time for change is now. The work ethic and the western dream are killing us, both physically and spiritually, but we can live if we want to. It's up to us.



Police inspect ruins of Cheekeys-Dunsmuir

# STATEMENTS OF RESISTANCE



## BRENT TAYLOR

B.C. Supreme Court  
New Westminster, B.C.  
June 25th, 1984

My purpose in speaking today is simply to reaffirm my commitment to the basic values and ideals which motivated me to struggle. I believe that both the ideals, and the struggle, are just and that they hold the promise of a better future. I continue to desire the creation of societies based upon feminist, humanist, co-operative, ecological and non-exploitation principles.

Illegal activities were one part of my political activism in the struggle against the injustices and threats to life mounted in modern industrial civilization, and the political and economic system of imperialism. The overall purpose of any illegal activity I was involved in was to further develop the possibility of a better world-one in which all people can finally live in freedom and international unity. Even if this does not come about in my lifetime, it is my hope that one day our future relatives will live in such a world.

I first began to become aware of social reality during the latter part of the 1960's. Since then I have never been able to accept the existence of so many horrible injustices within

human societies nor could I ignore that so many of the injustices resulted from deliberate decisions by the economically and politically powerful people of western industrial nations. The widespread protest and social movements, which took to the streets in the 60's opened my eyes to a whole different picture of life than I had previously seen in nursery rhymes, children's t.v. shows or school. I paid attention to what was happening because I felt that something had to be fundamentally wrong with the system since so many people were putting their hearts and energies into protesting against it. I learned about racism. I learned about the Vietnam War. I learned about the inhumanity of capitalism and the evil greed and hypocrisy of the powerful. I learned why so many people rejected the spiritually vacant, obsessively materialistic lifestyle of the status quo. I was inspired by people's dreams for justice and liberation, and for a society based upon love and sharing. I considered myself to be a child of peace. I was not then, nor have I ever been, a violent person.

For the whole of my adult life, I have participated in a variety of political activities involving many issues. I have learned a lot about the real character of the system we live under and why it is the way it is. I understand that there are common links between the many grievances and critiques

that people have about the system and the quality of life generally in industrialized societies. I understand the sad truth that some human beings consciously exploit other people and knowingly perpetuate suffering in order to secure power and profits for themselves.

I understand that the nations of Canada and the United States were founded upon campaigns of genocide against the indigenous peoples of this beautiful continent and that the basic intent of these genocidal campaigns continues to this day. I understand that industrial development of the scale occurring in the world today will inevitably kill the earth's living biosphere. I understand that the escalating war preparations of the western nations is the result of imperialism's desperation to prevent further loss of its empire to ongoing liberation movements in the Third World.

In my opinion, it is essential that we stop industrial civilization's destruction of the environment and that we stop imperialist wars and the launching of nuclear weapons. It is not enough simply to be concerned about such things, or even opposed to them. We must stop them from happening! I believe that moral and political responsibility requires of people that we develop an effective resistance to such things. I say that this resistance struggle is essential because unless we can prevent such things from happening, life on earth will likely be extinguished.

It is as a result of this analysis that I feel the need to take action to do what I could to directly resist the escalating life-threatening tendencies of imperialism and modern industrial civilization. Even though I recognize that there are many important and necessary forms of legal political work that people must be involved in as part of an overall to make better societies, I was involved in illegal political work because there is a real need for direct action now against the most critical threats confronting people and the environment.

Ultimately, I believe that the destruction of the imperialist system is necessary for the wrongs it causes to be righted, and that only by popular revolutionary struggle can people ever take control over the direction of our societies from the greedy and powerful and thus begin to build truly just ones.

Although the court says that the only thing of concern is whether or not I broke some laws, I submit that the actual reality of this case is distorted and obscured by the state's legal definitions about what is relevant to this inquiry. I say that people should not allow their perceptions of what is really at issue here to be distorted and debased by the self-serving and moral hypocrisy of the state. The state has assumed the power and authority to put me and my activities under intense scrutiny. But I say it is really the imperialist system and industrial civilization which should be scrutinized, because it is their activities which really place us all in very grave danger.

Far more important than the fact that I've broke some laws of Canada are the reasons I did so. State militarism is slaughtering people in ever increasing numbers. The ruling class of the western world is preparing for imperialist war to stop the advance of anti-imperialist liberation struggles. The entire planet is threatened with nuclear war. Western civilization is forcing its domination throughout the world-exploiting people and suppressing their cultures with the production of every M-16 rifle, automobile, television set, rock & roll supergroup, can of hairspray or underarm deodorant. The earth's precious environment upon which all life depends is being relentlessly destroyed by industrial development from the rain forests of the Amazon to the dying lakes of Northern Ontario. It is only because of my active opposition to such enormous injustices that I am here before this court today.

It may seem like arrogance, but I mean this in a most humble way-there are too many people in our society who have their heads in the sand regarding these enormous injustices. I realize that there are many reasons for this, and therefore I feel sorrow-not anger-in regards to the overall spiritual and moral poverty of Canadian people generally. The struggle in Canada, I've come to believe, is for people living under this system to overcome their allegiance, acquiescence and participation in it. We have a great task before us in Canada-to create a better society, not for bread and shelter for ourselves, but because we recognize that it is wrong to live the way we do-off the spoils of imperialism and the plunder of the earth. This will take moral and spiritual understanding and strength. I pray that we are all able to find it.

Finally, I want to say that I am a human being-not some stereotype. Like all of us, I am imperfect. But I am not an evil person, I am a moral person. I deeply care about this world and the people living in it. To me, the struggle for freedom and liberation and to protect the earth is more important than anything else.

## DOUG STEWART

B.C. Supreme Court  
New Westminster, B.C.  
June 21st, 1984

Good morning. I have a few short comments to make about the Dunsmuir bombing.

In the evening of May 30, 1982, I went to the Dunsmuir Substation on Vancouver Island and placed four dynamite charges, which detonated early the next morning and destroyed four Shunis reactors.

The reason why I did that, to put it in a nutshell, is that the Cheekye-Dunsmuir project is going to inflict large-scale, severe damage on the environment in B.C., and I consider that to be reprehensible and intolerable.

In the communiqué we released, we said that for over two hundred years, modern industrial civilization has been relentlessly devastating the natural world, and at an ever-accelerating pace. One particularly clear-cut measure of the destruction being done is the simple fact that, in the twentieth century alone, several tens of thousands of animal and plant species have become extinct, that is, utterly and forever

obliterated from the face of the Earth. In my opinion, there is absolutely no possible justification for such horrifying slaughter—not jobs, not progress, not standard of living, *nothing*.

The destruction of the world's environment is a direct consequence of modern industrialism, but it also springs from certain fundamental perspectives of our culture. Most people in our society, and certainly those with wealth and power, are of the opinion that the Earth belongs to us, that it exists only for our use, and it is of value only to the extent that we value it. It's taken for granted that we have a natural birthright to manipulate the entire world's ecology for our needs.

That is not how I see it. In my opinion, all life on earth has a right to be, and is of worth and importance in and of itself. The natural world is a home which we share with the trees and the birds, and which we should treat respectfully and gently, and not as something to ruthlessly lay waste to.

The Cheekye-Dunsmuir transmission line fits into this picture as a small part into the whole. There are three main environmental consequences of the Cheekye Project. The first is that, as a major expansion of B.C. Hydro's transmission capacity, it will facilitate and encourage the building of more dams. That has fairly obvious significance for the ecology of the particular valleys chosen to be flooded. The second implication of Cheekye-Dunsmuir is that a large part of its power was promised to pulp and paper mills, which consume vast quantities of trees. This will lead to an expansion in logging, which is probably the single most widespread, destructive activity underway in B.C.

The third consequence is that the increased power supply will allow for a wave of general industrial development of Vancouver Island, which, in a thousand different ways, will further contribute to the savagery of the environment.

That is the true nature of Cheekye-Dunsmuir, and that is why I participated in the Dunsmuir bombing.

The most obvious objection to this kind of action is its blatant illegality. In answer, I say you have to look beyond Cheekye-Dunsmuir. In the world today, I see almost unimaginable cruelty, injustice and suffering. From bloody repression in Central America to starvation in Africa, and from the arms race to the condition of the poor in our own communities, the list of atrocities is a long one. And, in each case, the threat of responsibility can be traced to the western powers, those countries alleged to exemplify the benefits of the rule of law. I say bluntly that the great tragedies of the modern world are not accidental or inevitable. They are the direct consequence of a system based on a mad struggle for profit. There's money to be made in famine and war, and those who do will use every means at their disposal, including the law, to protect their position against any threat from social reformers or revolutionaries.

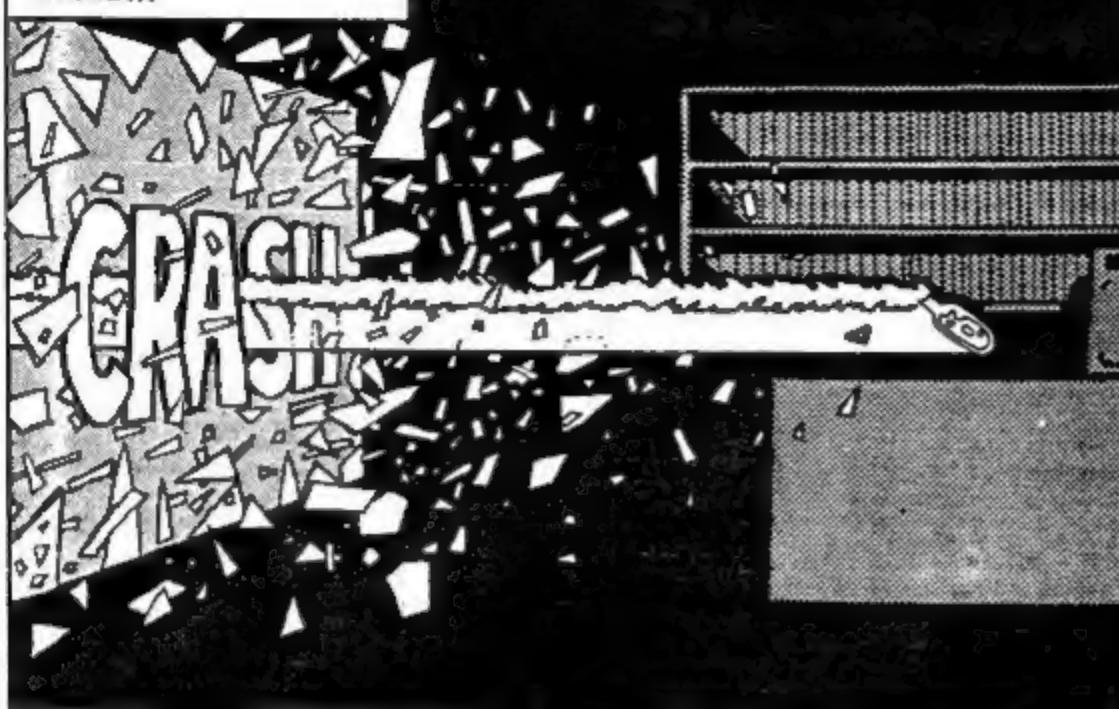
This is the true function of the law: not to defend the weak and ensure the furtherance of justice, but to defend the interests of the strong and ensure the continuance of their depredations. And that is why, in attempting to stop Cheekye-Dunsmuir, I did not consider the law to be a legitimate moral constraint.

One final point I want to make clear is that I reject the label of terrorist. The real terrorists are those with wealth and power, who profit from the rape of the land, and who perpetrate human misery. I act in defence of the earth, and in solidarity with everyone who's fighting for a better world.

That's all I have to say.



AND THAT NIGHT, AT A  
SURREY PORNOGRAPHY  
STORE...



"At this dangerous point in human history, we have a moral responsibility to stop the arms race, violent pornography and the destruction of the earth. This moral responsibility far over-rides any obligation to adhere to man-made laws."

#### ANN HANSEN

B.C. Supreme Court  
New Westminster, B.C.  
June 5th, 1984

When I look back on the past year and a half, I realize that I have learned a lesson. Not the kind of lesson that some people would hope I had learned, but rather through direct life experience I have re-learned what I once only understood theoretically—that the courts have nothing to do with justice and prison is where they punish the victims of this society.

For many years now I have understood that the justice system was actually a system of injustice when seen in the broader social context. I was aware that parliament is where men make laws to protect big business, wealthy individuals and the status quo. Police were employed to enforce the laws, courts were created to prosecute those who broke the law, and prisons were built to punish the guilty.

My faith in the justice system began to erode as I grew up and saw the big business tipping off people by selling poorly produced products at high prices, resource companies gouging and raping the earth, governments producing nuclear arsenals capable of destroying life on earth many times over, pornographic magazines that normalized and glamorized rape, incest and sexual assault, and Indians being herded onto reservations to die. All these crimes against humanity and the earth are legal. They are protected and sanctioned by parliament, the courts, the law and the police. This was all very wrong.

In Oaxaca, where I have spent the past 16 months, I have found that seventy per cent of the prison population are Indian women, even though Indian people make up only 1 per cent of the total outside population. This disproportionate number of Indian people in prison is reflected in prison populations across the country and reflects the racism of our society.

Everyone I have met in prison is poor. No one owns cars, homes, land or anything. They are there because they were forced to commit crimes to survive in a society that has no place for them. They have never owned forest companies that rape whole mountains of their forests, or handled nuclear murder weapons or stolen oil from Arab lands to be sold at scalper's prices in North America.

In the beginning when I was first arrested, I was intimidated and surrounded by the courts and prison. This fear provided the basis for the belief that if I played the legal game, I would get acquitted or perhaps less time. This fear obscured my vision and fooled me into thinking that I could get a break from the justice system. But this past eight months in court has sharpened my perceptions and strengthened my political convictions to see that the legal game is rigged and political prisoners are dealt a marked deck.

From the beginning in January '83, the police illegally orchestrated press conferences and furnished the mass media with evidence, photos, and information that became the basis for nationwide news stories convicting us as terrorists. We were portrayed as dangerous, psychotic criminals without politics.

Then our charges were separated into four separate indictments, of which the first was the Banks conspiracy, so that we would be criminalized. This would make it harder for people to understand us as political people for our future trials.

During the voir dire, it became obvious through police testimony that the different police departments had committed illegal acts during their investigation. The Security Service in all probability watched the WFB (Winnipeg Fire Brigade) do the firebombings since Julie and I had been under intensive surveillance by the SS for days prior to and during the day of the firebombing.

CLEU (Co-ordinated Law Enforcement Unit) had committed illegal break-ins to plant the bugs in our house and in Doug's apartment among other illegal activities. But

despite this, the judge permitted the wire-tap evidence. This taught me that there is one law for the people and none for the police.

But the event during the court proceedings that has had the most politicizing effect on me, was Julie's sentencing. The Judge ignored the fact that she had plea bargained and imposed her with the maximum prison sentence suggested by the Crown—20 years. During the sentencing, the judge said that this case is criminal not political, and yet the 20-year sentence was justified by the judge as a necessary social deterrent which indicates that the court is so threatened by the potential of a social upheaval that it takes a 20-year sentence to deter others. That is political. It seems that the severity of the prison sentence is in direct proportion to the perceived level of discontent in society.

I understand why I have participated in the legal system up to now, but, in retrospect, in order to be honest to my political principles, I should have refused to collaborate in the legal system. I should have chosen to go to jail for doing what I did.

Since I didn't then, I have the opportunity to do so now. Over the last couple of days we have heard witnesses who are activists around the different issues. They have spoken at great length about their efforts and the efforts of other groups to prevent the testing of the cruise, the construction of the Cheekye-Dunsmuir line and to stop Red Hot Video. I think it has become fairly obvious through their testimony that in each case they had exhausted all the legitimate channels of social protest in order to stop these projects and businesses. It was because there was no legal way to stop these crimes against humanity and the earth, that I feel I had to use illegal actions to do so.

I didn't just feel that I should, I felt I had a duty and responsibility to do everything in my power to stop these crimes. At this dangerous point in human history, we have a moral responsibility to stop the arms race, violent pornography and the destruction of the earth. This moral responsibility far over-rides any obligation to adhere to man-made laws.

I would prefer to live in peace but when I looked around me, I couldn't find it anywhere. Everywhere I looked, the land was being destroyed. The Indians were victims of genocide, third-world peoples were oppressed and massacred, people lived in industrial wastelands and women were being raped and children molested. I could never live in peace—only quiet—the kind you find in cemeteries.

Even though I knew that a few militant direct actions would not make the revolution or stop these projects, I believed that it was necessary to begin the development of an underground resistance movement that was capable of sabotage and expropriations and could work free from police surveillance. The development of an effective resistance movement is not an overnight affair—it takes decades of evolution. It has to start somewhere in small numbers and whether or not it grows, becomes effective and successful, will depend upon whether we make it happen.

I believe these direct actions of sabotage complement the legal radical movement and serve a purpose that it can't fulfill. Not that the legal movement is ineffective, because although their efforts often fail to stop a project, their work will increase people's consciousness. The important thing is that the aboveground and underground support one another, because our strength lies in unity and diversity.

Although I did do these political actions, they were not the result of the culmination of a legal struggle around the respective issue. In fact, the point of an underground resistance movement is to develop a strategic political analysis and actions that are based on an understanding of the economics and politics of the corporate state. Instead of reacting to every issue that pops up, we carried out actions that were based upon an analysis. This way if an effective resistance movement does develop, we can be subjects who determine history instead of reacting to every singularly obvious symptom of the system's disease.

The politics of Direct Action saw the inter-connectedness of militarism, sexism, environmental destruction and imperialism. We saw that all these problems are rooted in the value system and way of thinking called capitalism and patriarchy. These values are passed on from one generation to the next through the institutions of this society—the multinational corporations, schools, mass media, church and commercial culture.

The main value of this society can be boiled down simply into one word—money. All life on this earth is reduced to its profit value by the capitalist economic system. Women, animals, third world people, and the environment are reduced to a product and thus are objectified. Workers are valued for their productivity, women for their value as sex objects, animals for food or fun, the environment for its potential as a valuable resource. If something living living is of no economic value in relation to the capitalist system, then it is valueless. Consequently, traditional Indian people become victims of genocide, and huge areas of the earth are designated as "Natural Sacrifice Areas." So the Litton action, Cheekye-Dunsmuir action and W.F.B. action, at least for me, were not issue oriented actions but were our resistance politics transposed.

Contrary to the Crown's and police's theories, Direct Action and the W.F.B. were two different groups. Of the five of us charged with the Red Hot Video firebombings, only Julie and I did the firebombings. There were no men involved with doing the firebombings. Doug, Brent and Gerry just happened to either live with Julie and me or visit us. The W.F.B. was not an ongoing underground group, it was simply a group of women who come together for the purpose of firebombing Red Hot Video because we felt there was no other way for us to stop the proliferation of violent pornography.

Direct Action carried out the Litton and Cheekye-Dunsmuir actions. I do sincerely regret that people were injured in the Litton bombing. All precautions were taken to prevent these injuries, and an apology to the people injured and an explanation as to why it happened was released almost immediately after the bombing. But I must add that I criticize the Litton action itself, because it was wrong for Direct Action to place a bomb near or in a building that people were working in regardless of the number of precautions taken to ensure that nobody got hurt. In carrying out actions, revolutionaries should never rely on the police or security guards to clear out buildings and save people's lives.

There is no excuse for these mistakes which I will always live with the pain that I am responsible for, but these mistakes should never overshadow the incredible amount of pain and suffering that Litton contributes to every day and the potential for planetary extinction that the Cruise missile embodies. Every day, millions of people are slowly starving to death because so much money and human effort is diverted into the international war industry instead of being used to feed the people of the world. In Canada, essential social services are cut so that the government can pour more money into the war industry and mega projects. For example, the federal government has given Litton \$26.4 million in subsidies to build the guidance system of the Cruise.

The use of 1984 double-think has become an important part of today's psychological warfare against people developing radical consciousness. We experience it every day, even in this courtroom. I am called a terrorist—one who tries to impose their will through force and intimidation—by the court and the press. But I am not a terrorist. I am a person who feels a moral obligation to do all that is humanly possible to prevent the destruction of the earth. Businesses such as Litton, B.C. Hydro and Red Hot Video are the real terrorists. They are guilty of crimes against humanity and the earth, yet they are free to carry on their illegal activities while those who resist and those who are their victims remain in prison. How do we, who have no armies, weapons, power or money, stop these criminals before they destroy the earth?

I believe if there is any hope for the future, it lies in our struggle.

# Apologies But Few Regrets.

The following Communiqué was released by Direct Action following the Litton bombing of October 14th, 1982.

We claim responsibility for the bombing of a Litton Systems of Canada Ltd. industrial plant in Toronto where the guidance system for the Cruise Missile nuclear weapon is being produced.

We sincerely regret that any injuries occurred as a result of this action. We never intended any harm to come to anyone—especially the workers at Litton—but instead we took great care in preparing what we seriously assumed were adequate precautions to ensure the safety of all people in the area. Unfortunately, this did not turn out to be the case.

We do not regret, however, our decision to attempt to sabotage the production of the Cruise Missile's guidance "brain". We only claim in all honesty that this action was never meant to be an act of terrorism. We were not trying to threaten or kill the workers or executives of Litton Systems. We were attempting to destroy part of an industrial facility that produces machinery for mass murder. We wanted to blow up as much of that technology of death as possible.

Accidents happen; no systems or people are infallible. For us, however, this fact of life in no way excuses us for the mistakes that we made which contributed to causing injury in this action. We only pose these simple questions to put this tragedy in proper perspective. How many hundreds of times have entire populations been only minutes from annihilation due to nuclear war computer systems malfunctions? How many thousands will suffer from cancer related diseases because of breakdowns in nuclear power plants? How many thousands are killed every year in industrial accidents? And isn't it a fact that millions of people starve to death annually because so much money is put into systems of war rather than developing the means to feed the people of the world?

Although we firmly believe that it is right to attack the technologies of death, we identify our mistakes in the action as the following:

1) The bomb exploded 12 minutes before it was supposed to, assuming that it did detonate at 11:31 p.m. as stated in the media. The bomb was set to go off at 11:43 p.m. If it had exploded at this time, we feel that it was reasonable to have assumed that the Litton plant and the surrounding area would have been safely secured. It is a mystery to us why it exploded early, as we had checked and double-checked the accuracy of the timing system many times.

2) The warning call was not repeated. The van was left on the lawn in front of the Litton building at 11:17 p.m. We telephoned a warning to Litton Security just one minute after the van was parked. This was to ensure a quick reaction by the authorities, even though we felt certain that the van would have been seen as it was being driven across the lawn and parked. The van was parked 100 meters directly in front of an exposed glass-walled security guard's booth. In fact, the driver of the van could see 3 guards in the booth at all times during the approach and knew that the van had not been noticed. Unfortunately, the Litton guard did not completely understand the warning. When he asked that the instructions be repeated, he was only told to go out front and look at the van. We see now that the telephone warning should have been carefully repeated. However, if the warning had been understood, and even the police said it was "meticulous", then the authorities would have had approximately 25 minutes to clear the plant, the area and the surrounding roads—if the bomb had detonated on time. This was certainly a reasonable length of time to have left the authorities to evacuate the plant and secure the area. Even though the bomb went off early, it seems obvious that even 12 minutes was enough time for the plant to have been safely emptied had the instructions been understood.

3) We made the error in judgement about the "orange box" which was left in front of the van. This box was meant to be a back-up warning again to help the authorities to understand the situation and ensure prompt and knowledgeable action on their part. The box was painted fluorescent orange so it could easily be seen and taped to all four sides of it was a sheet of paper with information and instructions. On top of the box was taped a stick of dynamite. We felt certain that the Litton guards, either by seeing the van being parked or by being alerted to it by the telephone warning, would quickly come upon the box—thus having written information in their possession to guide them. Unfortunately, we wrote "Danger Explosives" on top of the sheet of instructions. As well, it was not a good idea to leave an unopened stick of dynamite visible on top of the box. Although these two things were done to prove that this was a real bombing, they actually frightened the Litton guards and police away from the box so that the instructions were never read. Because we left evidence of real explosives and because the instructions contained the information that there was 550 pounds of explosives inside the van, we assumed that the authorities would have undertaken a massive emergency response and evacuation. This is what we were

hoping would happen to make sure that no one was hurt. It was specifically stated in the telephone warning that the box contained important instructions and that the dynamite attached to it was harmless. In both the written instructions and the telephone warning, we stated that the van would explode in approximately 15-25 minutes. We add this to ensure that everyone including bombsquad members, would clear away from the van well before it exploded.

4) We were mistaken in believing that the Litton guards and police would be on top of things. The image of cops and guards as "super heroes" caused us to believe that they would have security and safety matters underway very quickly. This obviously did not turn out to be what happened. The Litton guards did not observe the van being parked, even though it happened essentially right before their eyes. A Litton guard did not understand the phone warning even though it was given clearly. It seems that the Litton guards did little or nothing to evacuate the workers until after the police arrived. As the workers have said, they were only told to leave the building seconds before the explosion. The police took very a long time to arrive after they were alerted—approximately 10 minutes—and even then they only sent one car of fast to investigate. Finally, neither the police, nor especially Litton security, even took a close look at the orange box. We did not expect this kind of slow and indecisive response from the authorities.

We were very disturbed and saddened that injuries occurred as a result of this action. We have gone over what went wrong time and time again. Most significantly, the bomb exploded 12 minutes early. But nevertheless, we feel we must strongly criticize the Litton security guards for the way in which they "handled" this incident. We know that they were at least 3 guards in the security booth when the van was parked and when the phone warning occurred. We feel it is undeniable that all injury to the workers could have been avoided if the guards had promptly evacuated the Litton plant, as they obviously should have. Although we had no knowledge of the previous false bomb threats (in fact, we oppose the use of false bomb threats precisely because they do cause the authorities to be skeptical of the authenticity of real bomb attacks), we put effort into making sure that the authorities would quickly understand that this threat was real. It is not as if we said that a pipebomb was real. It is not as if we said that a pipebomb was hidden somewhere within the entire Litton complex, so evacuate everything.

We informed Litton security of where the van and box were. They were both completely visible to the guards simply by looking straight out through their booth's window and the fact that they were there at all obviously indicated something was amiss. We would like to know why a Litton guard went running into the plant to evacuate the workers only seconds before the explosion—instead of at least ten minutes earlier? And we would like to know why the other Litton guards were standing around on the front lawn instead of informing workers in the other plants? As well, it is irresponsible of Litton to have never informed the workers of past bomb threats and to not have a loudspeaker system combined with evacuation plans so that workers could be quickly moved to safety in the event of any danger, be it a bombing or otherwise.

The position where the van was parked was chosen for two reasons. One, so that it could be easily and quickly seen from the guard's booth. It would have been much less conspicuous, and therefore far less risk for the driver of the van, if it had been parked in front of the other two Litton buildings, as neither of these are within direct view of the guard's booth. Secondly, the van was parked in a corner of the building in order that the two walls of this corner would prevent debris from being cast in a southerly or south-westerly direction where the two nearby hotels are located. This position was the only such corner of the front of the three Litton buildings. Again it was at the risk of being apprehended on the spot that we chose to park the van in a location which provided the least risk to public safety.

We have written the above not to redeem ourselves, as we did commit inexcusable acts, but simply as an explanation of our motives and intentions for those people who may feel threatened that there are crazed terrorists on the loose against the Canadian people. Again, we repeat, that we never intended any harm to come to anyone through this action. Instead, we took great care in preparing what we seriously assumed were adequate precautions to ensure the safety of all people in the area. Understand and remember, the terrorists are those who have set the world on the brink of nuclear war, not those who are fighting this insanity and inhumanity.

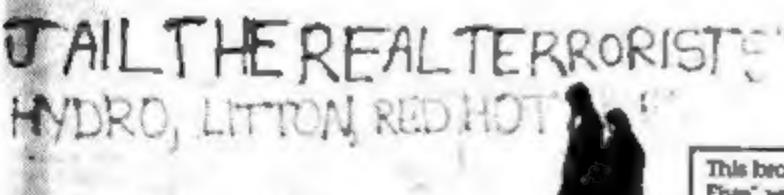
Finally we wish to state that in no way was this bombing the work of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, or any other peace movement organization in Toronto.

Direct Action  
October 1982

## Death from Above (the cruise)

There's a monster at large,  
That has the whole world running,  
Its electronic brain,  
Is deadly and cunning.  
It glides through the sky,  
With the grace of a dove,  
But its roaring jet engine,  
Brings death from above.  
Created by madmen,  
With minds bent on hate,  
It's the perfect new toy,  
For the whims of the state.  
They say that its role,  
Is strictly defense,  
But the truth of it is,  
It's dollars and cents.  
And they fail to mention,  
Their additional goal,  
To crush opposition,  
And maintain control.  
Though we told them "forget it",  
"We don't want to burn",  
It's being deployed,  
despite our concern.  
But we mustn't lose heart,  
Or cease in our struggle,  
'Cause there's a monster at large,  
And it's looking for trouble.

— Gerry Hassan



This broadsheet has been produced by several Toronto anarchists. The "Writings of the Vancouver Five" was originally published in booklet form by the Free the Five Defense group in Vancouver; "Statements of Resistance" was originally published on a broadsheet by the Free the Five Defense group in Toronto. Additional copies and/or more information about the Five are available from the Toronto Anarchist Black Cross, P.O. Box 6326 Stn. A, Toronto Ontario, M5W 1P7 or Bulldozer/Prison News Service, P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto Ont. M5W 1W4, Canada.

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